criticism on the other." By "destructive criticism" the Communists meant that which was aimed at repudiating the "People's democratic dictatorship," opposing the "Common Program," destroying social discipline, destroying faith in leadership, and "causing pessimism and disunity among the masses." This means that no criticism can be directed against any basic policy established by the Communist regime. Nor is it permissible for the press to make any open criticism of the top leaders of the regime itself. What the press can do is to criticize officials in a lower echelon who are corrupt, disloyal, or delinquent in the execution of certain policies of the regime. Viewed in this context, it is clear that the press as an instrument of public control is not only relative harmless to the existing regime but is actually designed and operated to support it.

F. Radio as a Propaganda and Public Information

Radio, as another medium of propaganda and public information used by the Communists in North China, should be briefly mentioned. Like the press, the radio has been recognized by the Communists as a powerful weapon of political propaganda and education. Beset by technical difficulties, the Chinese Communists did not broadcast in the North China Region until September 1946 when they established a station

207 in Han-tan,[9] a medium-sized city in the then so-called Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Region. After they had conquered the metropolitan cities in North China in 1949, the Communists took over all the broadcasting stations left intact by the Kuomintang regime and converted them into "People's broadcasting stations," owned and operated by the government. Meanwhile, the Communists assumed control of two privately owned broadcasting stations in Peking and in Tientsin.

Like the press structure, broadcasting stations in North China constitute a pyramidal hierarchy. At the summit of this hierarchy is the Central People's Broadcasting Station. Located in Peking and supervised by the Bureau of Broadcasting Affairs of the State Council, this station is the core of the entire radio network of Communist China, playing a role in the Chinese radio system similar to that of the central broadcasting stations in Moscow in the Soviet system. Since 1950 this station has been, using two separate installations for domestic and foreign broadcasts.

Broadcasting on eight frequencies, the installation for domestic broadcasts is on the

---

9. Mei I, "Wo-kuo Jen-min Kuang-po Shih-yeh Kai-k'uang" [General Survey of the People's Radio Broadcasting in China"], ibid, April 25, 1950.

air for 15.5 hours daily, sending out programs in all the major languages and dialects spoken by the Han-Chinese and other ethnic groups of the nation.[10] Directed toward the entire Chinese listening public throughout the country, either directly or by means of network hookups, approximately 50 per cent of the programs for domestic consumption are said to be "news broadcasts," with the remaining 50 per cent made up of cultural and recreational programs.[11] It is to be noted that so-called "news broadcasts" include not only straight news reports and news commentaries but decrees and regulations of the Party and government. Cultural and recreational programs are weighted with political concepts and similar messages.

The station's department for foreign broadcasts presents its programs for audiences in foreign countries in seven foreign languages -- English, Japanese, Korean, Indo-Chinese, Indonesian, Burmese, and Siamese.[12] This suggests that at present the foreign broadcasts

---

10. Seven of the eight wave lengths: 640, 720, 6100, 7100, 7500, 9040, 9730. Information is lacking on the eighth channel.

11. Mei I, loc. cit.

12. The three channels for international broadcasts are: 10260, 15060, and 700.

107 of the Chinese Communists are intended for people living in the Far East and Pacific areas. Apparently out of the same consideration, the Central Broadcasting Station in Peking also puts on the air for overseas Chinese special broadcasts in the dialects of Canton, Amoy, Hakka, and Ch'ao-chou.

While data on the exact strength of the Central Broadcasting Station is not available, the Communist regime disclosed in 1950 that the power of the station in question accounted for more than 63 per cent of the combined strength of all Chinese broadcasting stations.[13]

Local People's broadcasting stations in the region operate on two levels, provincial and municipal. They are as follows:

---

13. Mei I, loc. cit.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

## RADIO BROADCASTING STATIONS IN NORTH CHINA

•207

| Classification | Location | Wave Length |
|---|---|---|
| 2 Provincial Broadcasting Stations | Paoting, | --- |
| | Taiyuan | --- |
| 3 Municipal Broadcasting Stations | Peking, | 850, 670, 920, 750 |
| | Tientsin | 620, 920, 670, 1110 |
| | Tangshan | --- |

Chin Ta-k'ai, "Chung-kung Ti Kuang-po Wang" [Radio Broadcasting in Communist China], Tsu-kuo Chou-k'an [China Weekly], No. 65, March 29, 1954, p. 10.

Radio stations on the provincial level are used primarily to announce decrees and regulations and to broadcast news of the region or province concerned. The main task of municipal stations is to conduct "social education," essentially a form of propaganda and agitation. For news of a national or an international nature, these stations transmit the programs emanating from the Central People's Broadcasting Station in Peking.

For administrative purposes, each of the local stations is under the dual supervision of the Bureau of Broadcasting Affairs and the

207 appropriate station on the next higher level. Daily activities of the provincial and municipal stations are also controlled by the Party and government agencies on corresponding levels.

G. Radio Facilities As of June 1950, there were approximately 200,000 radio-receiving sets in North China. An overwhelming majority were concentrated in Peking and Tientsin. The few radio-receiving sets then found in such cities as Taiyuan and Paoting were owned almost exclusively by government agencies and high-ranking officials.[14] Subsequently, the Communists made efforts to increase radio-receiving facilities in this region, with special emphasis on mining and industrial centers. But the extent to which such an increase has been reached has not been revealed.

H. Radio Broadcast Monitors

207 The limited number of radio stations and 208 receiving sets, however, is not an accurate indication of the effectiveness of radio as a medium of propaganda and public information in North China. Any measurement of such effectiveness must take into account the "broadcast monitors" operating in government offices and units of the armed forces and in public

---

14. People's Daily, Jan. 4, 1950.

gathering places such as factories and schools. Some of these monitors are appointed; others are voluntary workers.[15] But all are utilized to cope with the problems caused by the shortage of radio reception facilities. This practice dates back to September 1945, when the Communist guerrilla forces in North China were, for the first time, able to receive broadcasts emanating from the Communist broadcasting station in Yenan. The Communists hope that, by appointing monitors, they may make the most effective use of the limited number of radio-receiving sets available. The monitors jot down broadcasts, transcribe and mimeograph what they hear, or rewrite the broadcasts in the form of "wall newspapers," thus making it possible for the broadcasts to reach a larger audience.

The fact that monitors can help increase the effectiveness of the radio as a medium of propaganda and public information is enhanced by the two provisions contained in the "Regulations on the Work of Monitors" promulgated on

---

15. See "Shou-yin-yüan T'iao-li" [Regulations on the Work of Monitors], People's Daily, April 30, 1950. When the monitors work in teams, their teams are called "monitoring stations". By 1950 every county government in North China already had such a station. In 1954, the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Communist Party declared that it had decided to establish some 1,400 monitoring stations in selected co-operative farms in the province. Ibid., May 20, 1954.

207
208 April 29, 1950, by the Central People's Radio Broadcasting Station.[16] One provision requires the monitors to concentrate on receiving programs such as speeches made by the government leaders, social science lectures delivered by famous scholars, government decrees, news reports, and other items which might help to improve the political and cultural levels of the listener. The second provision decrees that the monitors must report to the responsible radio station their reception work and the reactions of their listeners, so that the station can check on their work as monitors and readjust its programs, if necessary, in the light of the reactions of its audience.

## I. The Stage as a Propaganda Medium

208
536 The stage is a traditional form of entertainment in China. Operas are understood and enjoyed by both the literate and illiterate and are attended by members of all classes. Having recognized the stage as "an effective instrument for educating the masses with revolutionary spirit and patriotism," the Communists proceeded to make use of local operas for propaganda purposes as soon as they established their guerrilla bases in North China following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Upon

---

17. See Article 2 of the Regulations on the Work of Monitors.